

SIR PHILIP CURRIS SAKURAI, SENATOR IS 25 YEARS BEHIND AMERICAN THOUGHT

Upper Body of Congress Criticized for Sticking to Pre-War Traditions

Britisher, Giving Views of Our Government, Says Masses Are Ignored and That the Senate Is Out of Touch With Ebb and Flow of Public Opinion— Impressions Gained by Tour of States.

By SIR PHILIP GIBBS.

In my last message I ventured to put down a summary of self-criticism which I have heard from Americans during my visit to the United States. It is valuable perhaps not as a study of gloomy thought, too darkly shaded to present a true picture, but as a revelation that beneath the surface of American cheerfulness and self-confidence there are many minds seriously disturbed by their analysis of political and social life in the United States. Perhaps I may be permitted, as a true friend and lover of the American people, to express my own views upon one danger and element of weakness which I think I observe in their social state and processes of thought.

To my mind the chief drawback to the power of leadership in the United States is the great gulf which seems to exist between the Senate and the liberal thought of the nation. I may be utterly wrong, but over and over again in conversation with men who are in intimate touch with the business and financial life of the United States it has been impressed upon me that there is no chance of dealing with the affairs of the world in a bold, scientific and realistic spirit because the Senate, jealous of its prerogatives and old fashioned in its mental processes, wouldn't stand for anything that goes beyond the political platform of pre-war tradition and party prejudice.

Senate Behind the Times.

The war, it seems, and the changed conditions of the world have left the psychology of the Senate untouched. It is still thinking, I am told, in terms of old watchwords that have no real response in the minds of intelligent people, who see the necessity of facing the realities of the after-war world and adapting American traditions of isolation and self-dependence to the new needs of cooperation in world reconstruction.

Over and over again I have been told that the Senate is at least twenty-five years behind the advance of American thought, and this is so. It explains the contradiction between the boldness of the individual American mind and the timidity—as it seems to me—of American leadership. Take, for instance, the question of the Geneva conference. I can honestly say that I have met no American citizen up to date who the country who did not express the belief that the United States ought to participate in that consultation of nations on the economic problem of our present state. I have not met a single American who would give me any reason at all why the United States, having called the Washington conference, should refuse to accept the invitation to the other fellow's party.

Or at least they gave only one reason and that was the accepted fact that "the Senate wouldn't stand for it." And that they would "knave" Harding and Hughes if they went a step further in international affairs. Yet I am convinced personally that all the way from New York to San Francisco the mass mind of the people, or at least the mass mind of the men and women who represent the active, intelligent, constructive and educated thought of the United States, were ready for a leadership which would participate and indeed prevail at that conference, which is one doomed to failure in its larger aspects because of the non-participation of the United States.

How is it then that there is such a divorce between public opinion and political action? I think it is that the Senate is out of touch with the ebb and flow of thought in this great people, is not quickly responsive to its moods and convictions, and is cautious in its allegiance to outworn creeds. It is not calling to the present and looking with clear vision to the future, but starting back to the old and past and expressing the philosophy of ancient ghosts. Also the individual Senators, with some exceptions, are not representative of the best quality in the nation, socially, intellectually or in spiritual characters, but are professional politicians who think more of their careers than of national needs and duties.

England's Advantage Over U. S.

In England the mass of people have this advantage over the American people, that they can overturn a government more rapidly and easily than we can. The Prime Minister in England can last long if he is out of touch with the public opinion and both the House of Commons and the hereditary House of Lords are composed of men who are closely representative of contemporary ideas and interests because of their position in national life. In the United States the President is limited in his leadership by the measure in which the Senate will support him and must lag behind his most advanced convictions and his most

Third Party Killed by Rise in Price of Farm Products

Special Dispatch to The New York Herald. Immediately swung back to their former party affiliations. The new party in Nebraska was born of discontent with the price of farm products and the price of farm products was the cause of the movement. When A. C. Townley, head and founder of the Non-Partisan League, came to Nebraska he made a public speech against the third party movement the progressives lost the last of their former power. Corn was selling in Nebraska in January at twenty cents per bushel. Then it went to thirty-eight cents at the country elevators. The advance on the Chicago market was only about 40 per cent., but this Chicago rise was an advance of nearly 100 per cent. in Nebraska. The "overhead" was just the same to the farmers when corn sold at thirty-eight cents as it was when corn was only twenty cents per bushel. When the farmers found themselves getting nearly twice as much for their corn as they had been getting, they got out of the third party movement, left the ranks of the discontented. With the discontented farmers concentrated with the Non-Partisan League deserting in a body and with stockmen able to obtain money all talking prosperity, the third party dwindled away over night.

Many Improvements in Ireland's Schools, Plan of Free State

Department of Education First in Which It Asserted Its Power.

TRINITY COLLEGE'S RIVAL

National University, Allied With Sinn Fein, Proves Powerful Competitor.

Special Correspondence to The New York Herald. Copyright, 1922, by The New York Herald. New York Herald Bureau, Dublin, March 15.

One of the first demands that will be made by the Irish exchequer will be the demand for education. There is little general complaint about the Irish schools and much goes to show that they have done their work well in the last twenty-five years. But even now the schools of all sorts are overcrowded and to some extent understaffed. The keenness with which Sinn Fein is turning to this problem of education is instanced by the fact that the first department upon the Provisional Government ventured to assert its real power was the Department of Education. Fionan Lynch in charge of education for the Provisional Government some weeks ago notified the Commissioners of Education that their powers were at an end. Broad general powers over primary and secondary schools were strongly centralized in the hands of this commission and are now in the hands of Mr. Lynch. Within these broad general powers, however, considerable latitude of administration was permitted.

The central authority built and owned most of the national primary schools. It prescribed the secular curriculum and exacted standards of proficiency. In general, however, each school was administered by a local manager of the board of managers, which the local clergyman was usually the dominating factor. Religious instruction was given in practically all the schools, but the law provided that no child need attend religious instruction not approved of by the child's parents and indeed must be given for religious instruction which the parents might desire.

Religion in the Schools.

As a result the schools in the South were generally Catholic schools, and those within the Protestant enclave in Belfast were generally Protestant. For instance, in Limerick there were seventy-four schools under Protestant teaching, 417 under Catholic teachers and twelve mixed schools. Ninety-five per cent. of the children in the Catholic schools were Catholic and 95 per cent. in the Catholic were Catholic; while there were 10 per cent. Protestants and 89 per cent. Catholics in the mixed schools. In Munster there were twenty-five Protestant schools, 421 Catholic schools and four mixed schools with the percentage of attendance running about the same. In the old simple days of the American people, said an American with whom I sat only a few minutes before writing this article. I should be a liar if I pretended that I saw nothing but virtue in the United States, nothing but high and noble impulses, nothing but a glorious type of civilization. We are living in a time of transition, in which the ship of humanity itself has broken loose from its moorings. There is a restlessness working in the hearts of men and women. We are all under the spell of stirring impulses, of some big natural subconscious disturbance which is preparing for the evolution of something new that we cannot foresee or understand. In nations and in individuals the war and tides of thought which made the war possible have broken down old securities, conventions, laws and contentments. Youth is touched by the spirit of revolt. Old age itself is uncertain of its old certainties, is, like youth, full of doubt, uneasy, not sure of the future, and in the dangerous age of the world itself.

The people of the United States, therefore, are not immune from this general disease, from its fevers and head breakings and insanities. But I believe that the American people are in the great mass healthy and level headed and kind and intelligent. The virtues most needed by any people and the stuff out of which leadership can make all its wants. It is leadership which lags behind the mass mind in the world to-day in all countries. I am passionately against those pessimists who despair of their own people. They are only waiting for the call and will follow. The question of Irish speaking, in fact, is making trouble in more than educational circles. It is Sinn Fein's official language. Theoretically all proceedings of the Provisional Government and all official documents are in Irish. It was early shown, however, that men in the Dublin who spoke Irish as fluently as they did English were too small to make the proceedings of that body convenient in its official tongue. Even those who count themselves Irish scholars speak the ancient tongue as an acquired language.

Higher Education.

Ireland is well endowed with facilities for secondary and higher education of both boys and girls. In addition to the national secondary schools, and often in conjunction with them, all of the great religious orders of the Catholic Church maintain the religious education facilities which they have possessed in supplying Ireland since the days of St. Patrick. Many years ago religious discrimination was abolished and these institutions are now in a healthy and prosperous condition. Secondary schools are run under much the same system as the Board of Regents runs secondary schools in the State of New York, with a central board laying down broad lines for the curricula and holding standardized examinations. In addition, this board provides a considerable number of scholarships and valuable prizes for distinction in examinations.

Not a vestige of the ancient Irish universities has survived. There is, nevertheless, an important and vigorous university life in the country. Trinity College, the oldest university foundation, dates only to the end of the sixteenth century. It was only in 1793, however, that its degrees were made available to Catholics and only within very recent times that all religious tests for its scholarships and professorships were abolished. In consequence, very few Catholics, and hence very few Irishmen, of the Irish race have associated themselves with Trinity College. It is in the Irish mind the institution of the Protestant and British ascendancy. With this tradition behind it, its very existence is likely to be menaced by the thriving young neighbor, the National University, with colleges in Dublin, Galway and Cork, which has sprung up since 1908. Belfast has its own university, Queens University.

School Statistics Shown by the Census of 1911

ACCORDING to the census of 1911 there were in the primary schools of Ireland 173,990 children under 6 years of age, 516,960 between 6 and 14 years, 22,598 between 14 and 15 years, 18,190 between 15 and 18 and 1,408 over 18. In the secondary schools in the same year there were 22,413 between 6 and 14 years, 4,292 between 14 and 15 years, 9,469 between 15 and 18 and 2,139 above 18. In addition to these there are some facilities for technical and industrial education, but all classes complain of the inadequacy of commercial, technical and agricultural instruction.

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Despite the disabilities existing against them large numbers of Irishmen in addition to the Irish clergy have succeeded in making courses in philosophy and the arts, both at home and abroad. As a result, there is in Dublin to-day a society more purely bohemian in the intellectual sense than perhaps any place else in the world. So these convivial souls gather of an evening at houses like those of Darrell Figgis, Mrs. Green, the Hon. Mrs. H. H. Stewart, where he is at home; William Butler Yeats, James Stephens, Lady Gregory and a half a dozen others less known, but not less hospitable or delightful. It is perhaps the best test of the genuineness of this intellectual society to say that it ignores politics when it wants to.

Trinity College continues to turn out its young men to this society from among its six hundred to a thousand students. There are now 1,300 students in the Dublin college of the National University, 700 in the Cork college and 300 in Galway, besides the 200 theological students at Maynooth. Trinity College has faculties of art, divinity, law, medicine and engineering. University College, Dublin, gives degrees in law, philosophy, Celtic studies, science, law, medicine and dentistry; engineering and architecture and commerce. In addition to the same faculties, the college in Galway has a two years' course in agriculture. The Cork college, besides these, has courses in education and in music.

Allied With Sinn Fein.

The National University has closely allied itself with the Sinn Fein movement. It is a fact that its charter prohibits political activity in the classes. This does not prevent, however, the election of Mr. de Valera to the chairmanship of the college last December, nor the fact that the meeting of the Dail Eireann which ratified the peace treaty was held in the college's fine new buildings in Earlsfort Terrace. The Sinn Fein movement, however, free of politics they may keep their classes, are personally active and highly valued factors in the Sinn Fein movement. The Irish school was administered by a local manager of the board of managers, which the local clergyman was usually the dominating factor. Religious instruction was given in practically all the schools, but the law provided that no child need attend religious instruction not approved of by the child's parents and indeed must be given for religious instruction which the parents might desire.

Literature, poetry and the stage seem now to be the chief interests of the Irish people in Dublin. Plays and poems, novels and essays of the Irish school are as well known in America as they are in Ireland. But though every man has his test and does sing, on the slightest provocation—the genius of the people does not seem to extend beyond traditional ballad music. There is an orchestra in the city, but it is unfair to say that it lacks both distinction and patronage. There are, too, Irish painters and Irish sculptors, but most of them were trained abroad, as Sir William Orpen, Sir John and Lady Lavery and others of less distinction.

Architecture is a field in which Ireland may have a distinct contribution to make. It is not generally realized that our own White House in Washington is the conception of a Dublin architect, James Hoban. Its strong, simple, graceful lines are indeed powerfully reminiscent of many aspects, both familiar and great, of building design in Dublin to-day. In many respects Dublin architecture has never lost the simplicity, elegance and classic grace of the Georgian which Americans call "Colonial." Many an old doorway in Salem, Albany, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Richmond might have been lifted bodily from Merrion Square or Stephens Green. The good tradition has been carried on in the newer buildings, such as the University buildings in Earlsfort Terrace.

Irish architects will have a further and immediate opportunity of proving their devotion to their country in the reconstruction of two important structures. One is the Post Office, whose square walls and Doric portico are not unreminding of James Hoban's north front of the White House, and in the restoration of the Custom House, which might be the Capitol at Washington on a small scale. In medicine the Irish universities have already given admirable results. Both the National University and Trinity College medical faculties are second to none in the United Kingdom. Particularly notable work in surgery has been done within the last few years. Though the Dublin hospitals are on the British model—for the treatment of the poor only—they approach very nearly to American standards in equipment and operation than do most of the hospitals of London.

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U. S. Goes Ahead Scrapping Her War Ships While Japanese Build Up Big "Treaty" Navy

By GRAZER SCHORNSTEINER. Special Dispatch to The New York Herald.

New York Herald Bureau, Washington, D. C., March 23.

It is estimated that while the arms conference has saved the Japanese Government approximately \$500,000,000, it has thrown about 100,000 skilled Japanese laborers out of work. Eight capital ships were under construction when the naval treaty was signed. While these ships have not as yet been torn from the stocks, it is understood, all work on them has ceased. However, the construction of light cruisers, destroyers, flotilla leaders, submarines and other types is being carried along rapidly, and it is supposed that in these types the original big navy plans will be carried out in their entirety.

Also, it is the plan of the naval staff, and it is understood that this plan is approved in the Diet, to increase the navy in every possible way under the limitations prescribed in the treaty. While the United States reduces its fleet to 18,000 tons, the Japanese propose to increase their naval personnel, it is said, from 74,000 to 100,000.

Basing facilities will be increased. New fortifications will be undertaken within the restricted areas and throughout the restricted areas the system of wireless communication will be expanded, because of its naval advantages.

Problems for Naval Staff.

Unknown to any one gave themselves, the Japanese had laid down two great battleships in addition to the ships I have mentioned in previous articles in this paper. They are the Kik and Owar, displacing 44,000 tons, to have a speed of 24 knots and to carry a battery of twelve 16 inch 45 caliber guns in four triple turrets. They would have been turbine driven and oil fired and would have had exceptionally heavy armor, making them absolutely impervious to aircraft bombs, torpedoes and long range artillery. They were being built at the Kure and Yokosuka navy yards and would have been the most powerful warships in the world had they ever been completed.

The system of basing facilities has been understood to be battle cruisers, namely the Akagi, Amagi, Atago and Takao, displacing close to 45,000 tons, and these were to have a speed of 29 knots and a battery of ten 16 inch 45 caliber guns. The other two ships were under construction were the battleships Kaga and Tosa, of 42,000 tons displacement, 24 knots and carrying ten 16 inch 45 caliber guns. It is understood that these last two vessels were well on their way to completion, having had their construction rushed, and would have been launched in hope of their retention under the naval treaty. Now they present a problem to the naval staff. Whether to destroy them by salvage methods or gunfire or to convert them into huge oil tankers or passenger ships is under consideration. However, it is possible that the battle cruisers Akagi and Amagi may be lightened to 38,000 tons and completed as aircraft carriers. How far plans have gone in this direction is unknown. However, the fact has been brought out at the conference it was agreed to consider the new Japanese aircraft carrier Hoshio as of an experimental type and not to include her in the tonnage totals. Japan's aircraft carrier, this means that the Japanese may build this full allotment and it is understood that plans to do so are under way. Probably all that will be done with the empty ribs of the battleships Kik and Owar and the battle cruisers Takao and Atago will be to scrap them on a salvage basis. The uncompleted guns of the new ships will be finished and used in the coastal fortifications, it is understood.

To Scrap Eight Ships.

While America must tear thirteen ships from the stocks, Japan will have to destroy only eight, for six of the ships of her big navy program had not been even laid down and were still in the "paper" stage. Of the vessels which must be scrapped the battleships Kik and Owar, the battle cruisers Takao and Atago were laid down only last November and so not much work has been done on them. The Kik and Owar are probably in no better shape than the battleships. The contracts for these ships may be cancelled without the tremendous sums being spent on them that were wasted in the case of the American ships.

The active Japanese fleet will be very powerful, no ship carrying less than 14 inch guns. The two largest battleships in the world, the Nagato and Mutsu, will be in this fleet, as will four other very powerful battleships, comparable to our New Mexicos. Then the Japanese will have their complete division of four battle cruisers, carrying eight 14 inch guns. It should be remembered in this connection that the Hood, long regarded as the world's most powerful battleship, carried only 15 inch guns, and, also, it should not be forgotten that America is to retain no battle cruisers and that several American battleships are far less powerful than these Japanese battle cruisers.

The transformation of these great ships and the scrapping of others to be a single part of building up the efficiency

of Japan's navy within the confines of the treaty. Also various improvements in harbors, defenses, communications and war plans will have to be undertaken.

The beginning of such a program involves an expenditure for this year nearly equaling that of last year, when the navy program was on in full swing. This is in great contrast to the attitude taken by the American Congress, which proposes to wreck the efficiency of the United States Navy, instead of attempting to obtain its greatest value.

Expanding Wireless System. In many respects, there is a threat in these measures to the United States. Throughout the mandate islands the system of wireless communication is to be extended to such an extent that it will be impossible for an American fleet to make its way unnoticed to the Philippines or Guam.

The future war plans of the Japanese are understood to be to allow an enemy to reach his initial objective, then cut off his supplies with a superior number of fast ships, and so defeat him. Already Japan has an adequate force with which to carry out this plan in her four battle cruisers and eight light cruisers. Then back of this force stands a small but individually powerful battleship squadron of six vessels, including all the largest ships in the Japanese navy and a number of armored cruisers of lesser value. Coupled with this action, the main plan is understood to include a war on enemy commerce by fast cruisers.

Perhaps when the Japanese give up the German Bismarck, they will be allowed to select the American significance of these moves will be understood. Our fleet might be able to make the Philippines in the event of a war with Japan, but it could not base there. Fuel would have to be brought to it from the Djibouti oil fields, and each ship would have to return to Honolulu to dock as well as to refuel. Basing facilities in this sphere. This would mean that Japanese cruisers would not allow tankers to refuel our ships, and that if one ship needed docking the whole fleet would have to be moved, for a large number of Japanese battle cruisers could easily destroy a small detached number of our battleships badly in need of docking and repairs. In the meantime our commerce would be destroyed. Thus might our fleet be worn down and Japan be successful in a war.

Ships to Be Scrapped. Following is the list of the ships to be scrapped by Japan under the naval treaty, which are already in service:

Settsu, 11,900 tons, 21 knots; twelve 12 inch 45 and 60 caliber guns. Kurama, 15,000 tons, 22 knots; four 12 inch 45 caliber, eight 8 inch guns. Ibuki, 15,000 tons, 22 knots; four 12 inch 45 caliber, eight 8 inch guns. Ikoma, 14,200 tons, 21 knots; four 12 inch 45 caliber, ten 6 inch guns.

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Aki, 20,400 tons, 20 knots; four 12 inch 45 caliber, twelve 10 inch guns. Satsuma, 20,400 tons, 19 knots; four 12 inch 45 caliber, twelve 10 inch guns.

Katori, 17,200 tons, 19 knots; four 12 inch 45 caliber, four 10 inch guns. Kashima, 17,000 tons, 19 knots; four 12 inch 45 caliber, four 10 inch guns.

Mikasa, 16,100 tons, 18 knots; four 12 inch 45 caliber, fourteen 6 inch guns. Hizen, 13,000 tons, 18 knots; four 12 inch 40 caliber, twelve 6 inch guns.

It is to be noticed that among these ships is the Mikasa, Admiral Togo's flagship in the battle of the Sea of Japan, and the Hizen, which was formerly the Russian Retvizan, built just after the Spanish American war at Cramp's Shipyard at Philadelphia.

However, the battleships Asahi, Shikishima, Iwami, Suwo and Fugi are missing from the list. It was agreed at the conference that Japan might keep the Asahi and Shikishima for training purposes. They displace about 15,000 tons, have a speed of eighteen knots and carry four 12 inch 40 caliber and four 10 inch 45 caliber guns. It is supposed that these ships will be reconstructed in the near future. What has become of the other vessels is unknown, but inquiries at the Navy Department bring the reply

that probably they have been scrapped. There is some agitation among Japanese naval officers as to how these vessels are to be disposed of. Responsible informants insist that none of them will be actually done away with for some time. The likely solution is that the Retvizan will be used as a target for the big guns of the Japanese fleet, that the Satsuma will be a target for aircraft bombs and that the Kurama will be proposed some time after other ships on this list be converted into tankers and movable oil depots, and it would seem that this is the likely course.

Already the Japanese possess a fast cruiser force far superior to that of the United States, for at present they are understood to have eight such ships and to be expected that within a few years the Japanese will have nearly twenty-five fast cruisers, and we may have ten—that is, if Congress provides the funds with which to complete the ten ships we have now on the stocks.

However, Japan is sitting tight until our Senate passes the naval treaty. Construction has been stopped on the new ships, but no move has been made to scrap either these or the older ships which are to be done away with. And while no work is being done which might be considered a violation of the treaty, plans are being laid and executed to increase Japanese naval efficiency.

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